THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES LET US ALL UNITE."

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LABOR'S LONG STRUGGLE WITH CAPITAL

No. 11.

When we witness the printers' present struggle with capital for the eight-hour day, and the bitterness with which it is being opposed by the employing class, the misinformed might be lead to believe that the eight-hour question is a comparatively new issue between labor and capital, dating back only about twenty years at most, but such is not the case. As early as 1866 eight-hour bills were introduced in congress by members from several different states of the union for the eight hour day. In 1868 a bill passed congress, making eight hours a day's work for the District of Columdia and was signed by President Johnson. After its passage, the officers having it in charge failed to report it, and contended that a reduction of wages must follow a reduction of the working hours. To this the employes protested, and were sustained by President Grant, who issued a proclamation on the 19th of May, 1869, directing that no reduction should be made in the wages of employes of the government in consequence of the reduction of the working hours. Notwithstanding this, the law was juggled with, and "opinions" were rendered by the tools of capital afterward, until the law became a dead letter. The employes had either to submit to a reduction in wages or continue to work ten hours per day.

A great deal of agitation was caused by the flagrant way in which the law was set aside. A great many mass-meetings, conventions, etc., were called to protest. Finally, the whole mountain in labor brought forth a weazen little mouse in the form of a "labor party," which died "aborning." Nevertheless, the agitation did some good in stirring the public mind, educating the people along economic lines; many eight-hour leagues were formed in different parts of the country.

The Boston, Mass. Eight-Hour League was composed of some of the best thinkers in the country. Among these was the late Ira Steward, who drew up and presented the following statement of the eight-hour question, which will undoubtedly prove as interesting a study for the economic student today as when it was presented in 1885: "Resolved, that poverty is the great fact with which the labor movement deals; that co-operation in labor is the final result to be obtained; that a reduction in the hours of labor is the first step in labor-reform; and that the emancipation of labor from slavery and ignorance and poverty solves all the problems that now most disturb and perplex mankind.

"That eight hours do not mean less wages;

"That men are never paid, as a rule, according to what they earn, but according to the average cost of living;

"That in the long run—within certain limits—less hours means more pay—whether they work by the day or by the piece;

"That reducing the hours increases the purchasing power of wages as well as the amount of wealth produced;

"That dear men mean cheap productions, and cheap men mean dear productions;

"That six cents a day in China is dearest, and three dollars a day in America is cheapest;

"That the moral causes that have made three dollars a day cheaper than six cents a day will make higher wages still cheaper;

"That less hours mean reducing the profits and fortunes that are made on labor and its results;

"More knowledge and more capital for the laborer; the wages system gradually disappearing through higher wages;

"Less poor people to borrow money, and less wealthy ones to lend it, and a natural decline in the rates of interest on money;

"More idlers working, and more workers thinking; the motives to fraud reduced, and fewer calls for special legislation;

"Women's wages increased, her household labor reduced, better opportunities for thought and action, and the creation of motives strong enough to secure the ballot;

"Reaching the great causes of intemperance — extreme wealth and extreme poverty;

"And the salvation of Republican institutions;

"That whether national banks are abolished or bonds are taxed, or whether taxes or tariffs are high or low, or whether greenbacks or gold, or any system of finance proposed is adopted, or a single tax on land, or civil service, or one term for president shall prevail, are not laborer's questions, because they have no appreciable relation to the wage-system, through which the wage classes secure all that they can ever obtain of the world's wealth until they become sufficiently wealthy and intelligent to co-operate in its production; and whether the masses have anything to choose between a democrat, or republican, or other candidate turns entirely upon the question which one of the candidates will be most likely to secure the legislation for reduced hours of labor, as well as the enforcement upon all government works of the law already enacted.

"Resolved, That the factory system of our country that employs tens of thousands of women and children eleven and twelve hours a day; that owns or controls in its own selfish interest the pulpit and the press; that prevent the operative classes from making themselves felt in behalf of less hours, through a remorseless exercise of the power of discharge; that is rearing a population of children and youth whose sickly appearance and scanty or utterly neglected schooling, is proving year by year that the "lords of the loom and the lords of the lash were natural allies in the conflict between freedom and slavery."

We see that the eight-hour question has been a long bone of contention between capital and labor, but reducing the hours of daily toil are along the line of evolution and is bound to come. Man needs more time to study and enjoy this magnificent civilization which he has built, and he is going to have it.

L. E. P.

A SOUL TO SOUL TAIK.

Religion has no firm hand clasp with brotherhood. Real brotherhood grows as religion dies. Genuine kindness goes with the free reason. Reason promotes true sympathy, which produces the brotherhood feeling. Discard religion and cultivate reason.

Brotherhood cannot be narrowed down to the few, to bodies of workingmen, or believers. The grand word embraces humanity. It is not embraced by humanity, however. When this mental growth belongs to the whole people, religion will have been scorned and dropped by all minds. That day will eventually come. It is a growth condition, mentally.

Every few days some former devotee of religion marches forward and is branded as a heretic. Some mind has gained the gowth to become an honest infidel.

A financier is a man who has so much money that it takes a legislative committee to find out to whom it belongs.

THE ANARCHIST SPEECHES

In No. 16 of The Liberator were commenced the publication of the speeches of the Anarchists, delivered in court in Chicago on Oct. 7, 8 and 9, 1887, when asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon them. These speeches are their reply. It was their last message to the world and must prove interesting and instructive reading to the most prejudiced as well as the sympathetic. Instructive to the prejudiced-minded, because no person capable of clear reasoning powers can read these speeches and lay them down, and then, allowing the innermost recesses of his heart to speak, he must say, "Those men were innocent of the crime for which they suffered death." They were victims of class hatred.

ALBERT R. PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from last week.)

Your honor, I concluded last evening, at that portion of my statement which had for its purpose a showing of the operations and effects of our existing social system, the evils which naturally flow from the established social relations, which are founded upon the economic subjection of dependence of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor and the resources of life. I sought in this connection to show that all the ills that afflict society—social miseries, mental degradations, political dependence—all resulted from the economic subjection and dependence of the man of labor upon the monopolizer of the means of existence; and as long as the cause remains the effect must certainly follow. I pointed out what Bradstreet's had to say in regard to the destruction of the middle class last year. As it affects the small dealers, the middle class men of our shop streets, the influences are likewise at work among the farming classes.

According to statistics ninety per cent of the farms of America are today under mortgage. The man who a few years ago owned the soil that he worked, is today a tenant, and a mortgage is placed upon his soil, and when he, the farmer whose hand tickles the earth and causes it to blossom as the rose and bring forth its rich food of human sustenance—even while this man is asleep, the interest upon his mortgage continues. It grows and it increases, rendering it more and more difficult for him to get along or make his living. In the meantime the railway corporations place upon the traffic all that it will bear. The Board of Trade sharks run thei corners until—what? Until it occurs as stated in the Chicago Tribune about three months ago, that a freight train of corn from Iowa consigned to a commission merchant in Chicago, had to be sold for less than the cost of the freight, and there was a balance of $3 due the commission man on the freight after he had sold the corn. The freightage upon that corn was three dollars more than the corn brought in the market. So it is with the tenant farmers of America. Your honor, we do not have to go to Ireland to find the evils of landlordism. We do not have to cross the Atlantic to find Lord Lietrim's rackrenters, or landlords who evict their tenants. We have them all aound us. There is Ireland right here in Chicago and everywhere else in this country. Look at Bridgeport where the Irish live! Look! Tenants at will, huddled together as State's Attorney Grinnel calls them, like rats; living as they do in Dublin, living precisely as they do in Limerick—taxed to death, unable to meet the extortion of the landlord.

We were told by the prosecution that law is on trial; that government is on trial. That is what the gentlemen on the other side stated to the jury. The law is on trial, and government is on trial. Well, up to near the conclusion of this trial we, the defendants supposed that we were indicted and being tried for murder. Now if the law is on trial and if the government is on trial, who placed it upon trial? And I leave it to the people of America whether the prosecution in this case have made out a case; and I charge it here now frankly that in order to bring about this conviction the prosecution, the representatives of the State, the sworn officers of the law, those whose obligation is to the people to obey the law and preserve order—I charge upon them a willful, a malicious, a purposed violation of every law which guaranteed a right to American citizens. They have violated free speech. In the prosecution of this case they have violated a free press. They have violated the right of public assembly. Yea, they have even violated and denounced the right of self-defense. I charge the crime home to them. These great blood bought rights, for which our forefathers spent centuries of struggle, it is attempted to run them like rats into a hole by the prosecution in this case. Why, gentlemen, law is upon trial; government is upon trial, indeed. Yea, they are themselves guilty of the precise thing of which they accuse me. They say that I am an Anarchist and refuse to respect the law. "By their works ye shall know them," and out of their own mouths they stand condemned. They are the real Anarchists in this case, while we stand upon the constitution of the United States. I have violated no law of this country. Neither I nor my colleagues here have violated any legal right of American citizens. We stand upon the right of free speech, of free press, of public assemblage, unmolested and undisturbed. We stand upon the constitutional right of self-defense, and we defy the prosecution to rob the people of America of these dearly bought rights. But the prosecution imagines that they have triumphed because they propose to put to death seven men. Seven men to be exterminated in violation of the law, because they insist upon the inalienable rights granted them by the constitution. Seven men are to be exterminated, because they demand the right of free speech and exercise it. Seven men by this court of law are to be put to death, because they claim their right of self-defense. Do you think, gentlemen of the prosecution, that you will have settled the case when you are carrying my lifeless bones to the grave. Do you think that this trial will be settled by my strangulation and that of my colleagues? I tell you that there is a greater verdict yet to be heard from. The American people will have something to say about this attempt to destroy their rights, which they hold sacred. The American people will have something to say as to whether or not the constitution of this country can be trampled under foot at the dictation of monopoly and corporations and their hired tools.

Your honor read yesterday your reasons for refusing us a new trial, and I want to call your attention to it, if you please, on some points on which I think you are laboring under misapprehension. Your honor says that there can be no question in the mind of any one who has read these articles (refering to the Alarm and Arbeiter-Zeitung), or heard these speeches, which were written and spoken long before the eight-hour movement was talked of, that this movement which we advocated was but a means in our estimation toward the ends which we sought, and the movement itself was not primarily of any consideration at all. Now, your honor, I submit that you are sitting in judgment not alone upon my acts, but also upon my motives. That is a dangerous thing for any man to do; any man is so liable to make a mistake in a matter of that kind. I claim that it would not be fair for you to assume to state what my motives were in the eight-hour movement; that I was simply using it for another purpose. How do you know that? Can you read my heart and order my actions? If you go by the record, it will disprove your honor's conjecture, because it is a conjecture!

The State's Attorney has throughout this trial done precisely what Mr. English, the reporter of the Tribune, said he was instructed to do by the proprietor of the Tribune, when he attended labor meetings. It was the custom of the chief editors of the large dailies to instruct those who went to labor meetings to report only the inflammatory passages of the speaker's remarks. That is precisely the scheme laid out by the prosecution. They have presented you here copies of the Alarm running back for three years, and my speeches covering three years back. They have selected such portions of those articles, and such articles, mark you, as subserve their purpose; such as they supposed would be calculated to inflame your mind and prejudice you and the jury against us. You ought to be careful of this thing. It is not fair or right for you to conclude that from the showing made by these gentlemen we were not what we pretended to be in this labor movement. Take the record. Why, I am well known throughout the United States for years and years past and I have come in personal contact with hundreds of thousands of workingmen from Nebraska in the west to New York in the east, and from Maryland to Wisconsin and Minnesota. I have traversed the states for the past ten years, and I am known by hundreds and thousands who have seen and heard me.

Possibly I had better stop for a moment and explain how this was. These labor organizations sent for me. Sometimes it was the Knights of Labor; sometimes it was the Trades Unions; sometimes the Socialistic organizations; but always as an organizer of workingmen, always as a labor speaker at labor meetings. Now, if there is anything for which I am well known it is my advocacy of the eight-hour system of labor; so it is with my colleagues here. But because I have said in this connection that I did not believe it would be possible to bring about a reform of this present wage system, because of the fact that the power of the employing class is so great that they can refuse to make any concessions, you say that I had no interest in the eight-hour movement. Is it not the fact that the present social system places all power in the hands of the capitalist class? They can and do refuse to make any concessions, and where they grant anything they retract it when they choose to do so. They can do it. The wage system gives them the power. The tyranny and despotism of the wage system of labor consists in the fact that the wage laborer is compelled under penalty of hunger and death by starvation to obey and accept terms laid down to him by his employer. Hence I have pointed out that it might be difficult for this reason to establish an eight-hour rule. What have I said in this connection? I have said to the employers, to the manufacturers and the corporations—the monopolists of America: "Gentlemen, the eight-hour system of labor is the olive branch of peace held out to you. Take it. Concede this moderate demand of the working people. Give them better opportunities. Let them possess the leisure which eight hours will bring. Let it operate on the wants and the daily habits of the people." I have talked this way to the rich of this country in every place I have gone, and I have told them, not in the language of a threat; not in the language of intimidation; I have said: "If you do not concede this demand, if, on the other hand, you increase the hours of labor, and employ more and more machinery, you thereby increase the number of enforced idle; you thereby swell the army of the compulsory idle and unemployed; you create new elements of discontent; you increase the army of idleness and misery." I said to them: "This is a dangerous condition of things to have in a country. It is liable to lead to violence. It will drive the workers into revolution." The eight-hour demand is a measure which is in the interest of humanity, in the interest of peace, in the interest of prosperity and public order."

Now, your honor, can you take your comments there and say that we had other motives and ulterior motives? Your impression is derived from the inflammatory sections and articles selected by the prosecution for your honor to read. I think I know what my motives were, and I am stating them deliberately and fairly and honestly, leaving you to judge whether or not I am telling the truth. You say that "the different papers and the speeches furnished direct contradiction to the arguments of the counsel for the defense that we proposed to resort to arms only in the case of unlawful attacks of the police." Why, the very article that you quote in the Alarm—a copy of which I have not, but which I would like to see, calling the American Group to assemble for the purpose of considering military matters and military organization, states specifically that the purpose and object is to take into consideration measures of defense against unlawful and unconstitutional attacks of the police. That identical article shows it. You forget surely that fact when you made this observation; and I defy any one to show, in a speech that is susceptible of proof, by proof, that I have ever said aught by word of mouth or by written article except self-defense. Does not the constitution of the country, under whose flag myself and my forefathers were born for the last 260 years, provide that protection, and give me, their descendant, that right? Does not the constitution say that I, as an American, have a right to keep and to bear arms? I stand upon that right. Let me see if this court will deprive me of it.

Let me call your attention to another point here. For some of these articles that appear in the Alarm, I am no more responsible than is the editor of any other paper. And I did not write everything in the Alarm, and it might be possible that there were some things in that paper which I am not ready to endorse. I am frank to admit that such is the case. I suppose you could scarcely find an editor of a paper in the world, but what could conscientiously say the same thing. Now am I to be dragged up here and executed for the utterances and the

(Continued on Page 3.)

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THE I. W. W. AGAIN.

A member of the A. F. of L., after writing a long article in an exchange, and in said article attempting the wonderful feat of riding two horses going in opposite directions at the same time, concludes his labored contribution in the following language:

"The trade unionist will ask Brother Debs what will be the effect of the formation of new unions in the crafts as proposed by him if not to further intensify and increase "craft jealousy, craft dissension, craft strife—the very things the capitalist desires." That is the testimony that has already reached us from New York, and the farseeing ones are asking themselves the question if it would not have been better for the new unionists to have stayed within the ranks of the old union and pursued their propaganda there for the industrialization of the labor movement rather than to have deserted to a new union with the direful results that are sure to follow. At any rate, since the step has been taken, it is to be hoped that wiser counsel will prevail and a more temperate and conciliatory attitude will be taken toward the old organization.'

Wonderful logic! How can "craft jealousy" be engendered in an organization whose corner stone is solidarity? If craft jealousies spring up, it will be because the underlying principles of the I. W. W. are either misunderstood, or else disregarded. "Farseeing ones are asking themselves the question if it would not have been better for the new unionists to have stayed within the old organization," etc. No where in nature does the new grow up within the old. The new takes root, fruitifies, and grows; the old gives way, sloughs off, falls into decay. If it is a new birth then the offspring leaves the old body and makes its independent way. The I. W. W. is a new birth; a new child. It has nothing in common with the old craft unions. It believes in "taking and holding the means of life," the old unions wish to let the bosses keep it.

L. E. P.

BLOODY SUNDAY.

The demonstration in commemoration of "Bloody Sunday" in this city on Jan. 22nd, was a magnificent success. The terrible storm and the snow and slush of the streets, did not dampen the courage of nor deter the 2,500 men and women from marching to the hall in the most earnest and enthusiastic manner. Many banners and mottos, expressive of the occasion, were carried in the parade, and also many carried the crimson flag of liberty, solidarity and fraternity. Splendid speeches were delivered by the orators.

The working classes are beginning to put into practice the real brotherhood of man. They are beginning to understand that boundry lines such as kingdoms and kings, empires and emperors, republics and monarchies, are but mere subterfuges, adopted by the ruling classes to keep the people separated so that they may be the easier handled, gulled and led to slaughter when the ruling class see fit to arrange wars. But the producing classes of all countries are learning the lesson that they have no real grievances; that the only struggle should be with mother nature, in wresting from her vast storehouses the resources of life and then enjoying them. When this lesson is thoroughly understood by the producing classes, it will be the end of war and strife, because there will be no one to fight.

The end of strife, because the people will come to understand that life is too short and precious to waste any part of it in fighting and quarreling, but in living in peace and good will toward each other. Man has hated his fellow man long enough. Let there be peace in all the world.

L. E. P.

MAY FIRST.

In No. 21 of The Liberator, A. Klemencic suggested that a general movement be set on foot now to inaugurate the movement looking to an observance of the 1st of May as an International Labor Day. This suggestion is timely. What more fitting time than the first of the beautiful month of May, when all nature has aroused from its long, winter sleep; when birds are singing, flowers bursting and fields and forests are taking on their beautiful verdure, for the sons and daughters of all lands to quit the abominable slave pens, the factory with its hideous din and smoke and dirt, the black, forboding mines, and the red-hot forgeing mills, and come together for one day to feel the warmth of a common interest, of solidarity and fraternity? By making this day an International holiday, there are so many pledges that the working class can make to each other; for instance: They can declare against war, or if the "powers that be" wish war, they can do their own fighting; they can decide how many hours they propose to work; they can declare in favor of the General Strike and prepare to enforce it. Let us hear from the readers of The Liberator regarding the first of May as an International Labor Day.

L. E. P.

WHAT IS ANARCHY?

VI.

In the third of these articles, it was remarked that the common observation of governmentalists, "Even a den of robbers or a schooner of pirates is not without a government," conceals a fallacy under the word "even." A den of robbers or a schooner of pirates is never without a government; and, the believers in government shall be witness, could not continue its business without one. But there are communities which have no governments, and do not seem to miss them. The Klondike has been mentioned. The extensive insular region of Malaysia, according to Alfred Russell Wallace, (Malay Archipelago) contains many partially civilized communities which have none; and their exemption from the crime characteristic of almost all others, whether civilized or barbarions, of those Malays for example who have governments, a very instructive comparison, was what made this eminent man of science an Anarchist. Now here we have two parallel groups of facts requiring differential generalization. Robbers and pirates, it is universally conceded, always do have governments. But robbers and pirates have founded a great many communities which now prefer not being unnecessarily reminded of the fact. The old Greek example of the Epizephyrian Locri, was cited to show that, true to their founder's instincts, such communities are the first to establish vigorous codes of written law. But much more extensive illustrations could be found. During the dissolution of the Roman Empire, the nuclei of the modern European kingdoms were everywhere formed by colonies of "barbarians," that was of robbers and pirates, either employed by the decaying imperial government as mercenary soldiers to coerce its slaves, or else emboldened by its weakness to seize on distant portions of its territory. All these intrudors—Franks, Goths, Lombards, Saxons, etc.—distinguished themselves at their very first appearance in history by a passion for legislation, a love of written codes, which has caused their statutes—the Galic, the Lombard, the Spanish, the various Saxon ones collated by Alfred, but mostly much earlier—to be capital material for mediaevl history. Their governments were all monarchical, aristocratic, and tyrannical. Their institutions, blended with those of the Romans, became the basis of ours; and thus robbers or pirates—the Romans were outlaws originally—gave us our laws. But large as is this illustration of one class among those facts we are to disentangle, it is insignificant as a synopsis of evidence. All governments, in China, for example, India, Egypt, Chaldaea, Assyria, Judaea, Persia, Greece, Mexico, Peru—so far as we are able to trace them into those dim regions lighted only by mythology, archaeology, and anthropology—prove to have similar origins. Set this down then for one universal rule: **Government, wherever we find it, owes its origin to aggressive wars and conquest**—less euphemistically, to robbery and piracy. And I may remark in passing that the common fallacy of "popular government" which regards tyranny as personal despotism, without law, and law as the security of individual rights, finds little to support it in such facts as these. The robbers and pirates were very much addicted to making laws. The form of the government had little to do with this propensity. Sometimes the code was promulgated by a king; but frequently (as at Locri Epizephigriam) there was no king. The common character of all their codes is but what belongs to the nature of law itself. They all aim consistently enough at limiting personal freedom of action, and "subordinating the individual to the State"—an idea very congenial to robbers and pirates, whose success in plundering more numerous outsiders must depend on co-operation for a single purpose among themselves.

There remain to be considered the body of extent in communities which have no government. One, we have seen, represents the most advanced civilization. The majority have a little knowledge of the arts. Some, perhaps, are wholly primitive. But certain common characteristics of them all, distinguish them from those which have governments. As a rule **the communities which have no government are too isolated to have had any wars.** The Esquimaux are an exception, for their traditions speak of war with the Scandinavian settlers in Greenland. But it did not probably amount to much. The meager indications are that the Scandinavians treated the Esquimaux very much as we have treated the Indians; but that, in 1348, they were almost annihilated by the Black Death; when the Esquimaux, taking the offensive, absorbed what was left of them—a last result indicated by the existence of Scandinavian words and customs among the "Innuit." This generalization, therefore, appears to be sound—**governments spring from offensive war, and require a good deal of it to establish themselves permanently.**

Government and Anarchy represent, accordingly, two social tendencies which Herbert Spencer has made it fashionable to distinguish as fundamental. "The first law of nature is self-preservation." It is, accordingly, the only law which man in his collective activity recognizes. Self-sacrifice is a trait of individual virtue, and a rare one. A community, as such, never thinks of anything but, "what shall we eat? what shall we drink? and wherewithal shall we be clothed?" Now the ways by which men, in the social state, which belongs to all known men, can live, resolve themselves into two. They may live by the labor of the individual members, each, except a few saints, philosophers, patriots, or philanthropists, thinking only of himself, but led by their evident need of each other to co-operate: or they may live at the expense of others. The former, styled by Spencer "the industrial tendency" is the Anarchic; for its success depends on the utmost freedom of individual energy and genius. The other (the "military tendency" of Spencer) is the governmental; for it has always been at least supposed to require that those who follow it should, by obedience to their chiefs, secure unity of action, and employ, in the work of exploitation, their collective energies as those of one man.

The enormously large generalization, which we have not only drawn but vindicated, though in few words, creates an overwhelmingly strong presumption in favor of belief that for the purpose of aggressive war (robbery and piracy), a people will be the more successful in proportion as they have a developed government, arbitrary, vigorous, personal, yet regulated,—a government like that of an army. That from the earliest period to which we can trace the history of any country—that is, since any emerged from absolute slavery down to the present day—all communities which wanted to exploit others have thought they needed government, while no such idea occurred to those few which did not, is exceedingly strong evidence that the former, from their own point of view, were right. For this consensus of opinion among the exploiters of all ages and nations, on a subject which vitally concerned their business, is hardly to be explained by tradition. It is not like that belief of the exploited, which we reject, that they need a government to protect them. The exploited are the ignorant, whom those versed in the trade of robbery and piracy deceive. The exploiters are those who do the deceiving; and if they themselves were mistaken in thinking government advantageous for their purposes, experience would have taught them better before this. However, a doctrine so revolutionary as that of Anarchism—so much opposed to the received opinion of the great majority—will not, naturally, be allowed to take anything for granted. Its method, if it is to persuade, must be inductive. Its convincing appeal must be to facts. I propose, therefore, to run over briefly the chief examples of successful and of unsuccessful attempts at actual conquest, with a view to ascertaining whether this purpose be more effectually attained in proportion as the community which atempts it is better provided with governmental machinery.

C. L. James.

CONDITION OF THE GARMENT WORKERS.

The garment workers of this and other cities labored for some years hard and faithfully to organize the workers of the clothing trades so as to enable them to obtain a living wage and live decent lives, as the largest percentage of the garment workers are composed of women and young girls. To get a "living wage" means vastly more than the careless reader can realize. The sweat shops were abolished and shops where girls worked were improved. I had occasion to visit many of the Garment Workers' unions when they were well organized, and was greatly impressed with the neat, tidy appearance of the women and girls. On several occasions we addressed their meetings, congratulating them upon their achievements in organizing and assisting the most helpless of any community—the females; but this is all changed now. The garment workers' union has been broken up by the boses and they have their helpless victims where they want them. The sweat shop is reinstated and starvation wages are being paid again.

The following is taken from a capitalist paper. Read carefully and ponder long, ye who have hearts to feel for helpless children:

Slaves in Chicago—slaves of the sweat shops, toiling all day long and making 15 cents—one family of three which earned $2.50 as a total last week—a strong man who earned 95 cents in the same time—a woman who thinks $1.25 a week is a good wage and who supports two small children on 90 cents a week—these were conditions discovered today by reporters for the Chicago American investigating the sweat shops of Chicago.

Already enough facts have come to light to prove abundantly the assertion of Jack London, novelist and socialist lecturer, in a New York address that many girls and women in Chicago earn only 90 cents a week.

The Chicago American has found these statements to be true. There are many women in Chicago who earn no more than 90 cents a week.

The most pitiful case of those brought to light during the day was the case of Carmino Goucho, who lives with his wife and twelve-year-old daughter, Antonia, in a wretched tenement at 339 Desplaines street. All three toil at finishing boys' trousers, and are paid 15 cents a dozen for the work. The total of the earnings of the family last week was $2.50—about 80 cents each.

"This is a fairly good week, as our work goes," said Goucho. "There are weeks when we have made less than $2.50, all of us. Sometimes it runs higher, but business is dull and we cannot get enough work.

"I was at work on a street cleaning gang three yeare ago, when a horse kicked me, breaking my leg. I was taken to a hospital and they were forced to amputate the leg. I have never been able to do any hard outdoor work and I will not beg.

"So I took to finishing garments, my wife and my daughter helping me. Every day my wife goes to the shop and stands in line there for hours waiting for work. There are scores—sometimes hundreds in line—and all want work as much as we and sometimes more. She has to wait her turn, and then at last she is given a great basketful of boys' trousers to finish.

"She puts them on her head—you see, the Italian girls' training at carrying pitchers on their heads has come in useful—and brings them to this room. We turn in and work, sometimes far into the night. Then we sleep. This is our only room. We have not enough money to get any more.

"Some days she is turned away, told that there is no work for her. And then we sit and can do nothing. And that is harder work than the labor of finishing garments.

"There have been times when there was more work, and we made more money, but now everything is dull. They tell me there is no work—almost none. When I came from Italy I was told there was work for everyone in this country. All I now ask is a chance to work."

In spite of the poverty of the family Goucho clings to his twelve canary birds which inhabit old and rusted cages and brighten up the little dirty room with their ceaseless song.

"I have had them for years," he explained. "I would almost as soon give up my wife or my daughter as the birds."

The daughter, Antonia, is a bright-eyed, round-cheeked girl of the typical Italian brunette style. Already, however, the lines are beginning to show in her face under the influence of the life of toil she has led.

She knows nothing but work. She never can play. Flowers and greeen grass, and trees, and the open sky, untainted with smoke, are almost unknown to her.

Another case, similar to that of the Goucho family, is that of Joe Marino, 115 Union street.

"I made ninety-five cents last week," said he. "Sometimes it is less than that—in fact, I made only 70 cents a few weeks ago. Often there are days that go by without my being able to get work. I go to the shop, and they tell me there is nothing.

There are many like me, who make no more than I do. There are many who want work, and little work for them to do. For weeks it has beeen hard to earn more than $1 a week."

A remarkable story of mother love and bravery in the face of adversity, is the story of Mrs. Paul Mengentina, *27* Vine street. Last week she made $1.25, the week before the same amount, the week before that only 90 cents.

Her father, her husband, and one of her children died within a short time, a few months ago, and since then she has worked in sweat shops, supporting her two children and herself on an average wage of $1 a week.

She soon found that she could not afford to eat much. That little quickly reduced itself, and for three months, her daily meals have been as follows.

Breakfast, bread and coffee.
Dinner, Coffee and bread.
Supper, bread and coffee.

In all this time she has never had sugar or milk for the coffee, nor butetr for the bread.

"I am not discouraged," she said. "There are lots of women worse off than I am. We have little to eat, and I have to work hard, but I am not discouraged.

"We eat the same food at every meal—bread and coffee. The bread is given to my son in a down town restaurant, which gives stale bread to the poor. We have never had sugar, butter or milk. Sometimes the County Agent brings us beans, which make a great feast.

"Every day I go to the shop which gives me work—owned by Charles Herst & Co., 144 Vedder street. There I am often forced to stand for hours in line. There are hundreds of men, women and children there, each as anxious to get work as I am.

"Some of them are even poorer than I am. Some make no more than I, and have half a dozen or a dozen children. Some—in fact, most of them—are hungry. We stand patiently and wait for work.

"The line gradually brings one to the shop, and at a little window I which I reach after an hour, perhaps two or three or four hours—they give me a garment to work on, and a little red ticket to bring back with the garment and present, to get my pay.

"My work is only on men's trousers. I line them and sew in butons and buttonholes. This takes me three hours—sometimes two hours and a half when I hurry—and I am paid 15 cents for it. I take the trousers back, and present my little red ticket and get 15 cents.

"I ask for more work, but usually there is none, the work for the whole day has been passed out. Once in a while I can get another pair of trousers to finish—and this is a good day, for it means that I can make 30 cents before I go to bed.

"I have managed to keep my boy Peter, nine years old, in school thus far, though is has been hard. I cannot get enough work. If I could, I might make more—perhaps several dollars a week."

* * *

"At the shop I am always told there is no more work," was the woman's sad reply.

"There are hundreds of men, women and children in Chicago who make less than $1 a week," said a well known settlement worker. "When business is good they make $3 or $4 or $5 a week, perhaps, but it is slack now and they get only $1 or even less. Conditions among the sweat shop workers have been terrible since the strike of the garment workers was settled."

PHOTOS.

Subscribers write: "Can you tell me where I can obtain photos of the five Anarchists, executed in Chicago in 1887." We have received quite a number of inquiries for photos of our comrades. If we receive one hundred orders of the photos, we will have them made, all on one large plate, beautifully mounted, as we have excellent photos of all the comrades. The price of the photos, postage included, will be 50 cents. Orders will be received at Liberator office. If one hundred orders are not received, the money will be returned to the sender.

This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional rights of amending it, or their revolutionary rights to dismember or overthrow it.—Lincoln.

LOVE, THE MEASURE OF THE VITAL ENERGIES OF A PEOPLE.

(By Max Nordau.)

(Continued from last week.)

The result of these ideas is a speedy degeneration of the civilized part of humanity, but their direct, immediate victim is woman. Man does not suffer so very much by such a condition of affairs. If he does not have the ability or the courage to assume the responsibility of founding a family in the midst of a society which is hostile and piratical, instead of being kind and encouraging as would be more natural, he remains unmarried but without renouncing the full gratification of all his instincts. Bachelorhood is far from being synonymous with celibacy.

The bachelor has the tacit permission of society to procure the pleasures of woman's companionship when and where he can; it calls his selfish enjoyments successes, and surrounds him with a kind of halo, so that the amiable vice of a Don Juan arouses a sentiment that is composed of envy, sympathy and secret admiration. If he marries without love, to procure certain substantial advantages, he is allowed by custom to seek right and left the pleasures which he does not find in the society of his wife, or if this is not exactly allowed, it is not considered a crime which should exclude him from intercourse with respectable people. Quite the reverse in the case where woman is concerned. The woman of our civilization is taught to consider matrimony as her only life career and marriage her only destiny; only by marriage does she attain to the gratification of her physiological wants, great and small. She must marry in order to exercise her natural rights as a mature individual, in oder to receive the consecration of motherhood, or simply in order to be protected from poverty and distress. This last consideration does not influence heiress, but in spite of the fact that most of them realize the immorality of marriage without love and most of them carry their desire to marry from mutual affection to such an extent that it is almost a mania, leading them to consider all their suitors as mere fortune hunters; yet they, most of all are the victims of this fatal perversion of truth, which has substituted sheer egotism for love in the contraction of marriage. There are too many men sufficiently degraded to consider a life-interest in a wife's fortunes as a possession to be desired above all others. They make every effort to win the wealthy heiress, not because they love her but because they want her property. They humor all her whims; if she yearns for love, they feign it with the more intensity the less reality there is in their protestations.

But heiresses are only a small minority in the world. All other women are compelled by present organization of society to look upon marriage as the only possible refuge from disgrace and poverty, and even from starvation. What is the lot of the unmarried woman? Her familiar appelation old maid, contains a scornful sting. The solidarity of the family does not extend usually into the maturer years of the children. When the parents die, the brothers and sisters separate; each one wishes to tread alone the path of life, and the constant companionship of the rest becomes a burden. The girl who is too sensitive to wish to become a hindrance to either brother or sister, especially if they are married, finds that she is alone in the world, far more solitary than the Bedouin in the desert. Shall she found a home of her own? It would be an unhospitable and dreary place, for no masculine friend could set down by her fireside without arousing the gossip of the neighborhood, friends are rare and beyond a certain point unnatural, and least of all would she introduce a sister ig misfortune into her home to add to its melancholy and bitterness. Some wise being is ready with the advice: She need not concern herself about the gossip of old women, but let her assemble the congenial friends around her, whom she may meet. By what right does this strong and independent character advise a gentle and timid girl to renounce for life long, the satisfaction, respect and appreciation of her equals. * * * Should she forfeit these the result would be a joyless life.

The uneducated girl goes out to service and thus supports herself, but she never learns the meaning of independence and liberty, while her character is crippled by constant humiliation. Slow starvation is the result of woman's independent efforts, working by the day, she receives on an average one-half as much as a man, although her natural abilities are about the same.

The educated girl becomes a teacher; in many cases she enters upon the slave's life of a governess, in some countries a limited number of subordinate official positions or clerkships are open to her, but none of them allow an intelligent woman to practice her talents and inclinations, to satisfy her inner life, which alone makes poverty bearable. Even those who can get these positions are the fortunate ones. The rest are poverty-stricken, wretched, a burden to themselves and others, oppressed by the consciousness of their aimless life, unable to obtain for themselves any pleasures in their youth, or sufficient for a provision for old age. And all this, the girl who vegetates in such terrible solitude must have superhuman principles. We require this starving, shivering girl to be a heroine! Prostitution stands near, waiting for her, enticing her. She cannot take a step in her solitary and joyless life without being beset by temptation in a thousand guises. Man who avoids the responsibility of providing a home for her does not hesitate to demand her love as a present which requires no return fromhim.

(Continued next week.)

THE INDEPENDENT FARMER.

A sample copy of your paper fell into my hands recently. I would like to subscribe, but haven't the 50 cents. I am a renter with a family of six. The small renter is worse off than the factory hand. Here is my last year's statement:

Rent of 40 acres at $6.25	$250.00
Seed oats for 38 acres at 30 cents	34.20
Binder to cut oats at 60c per acre	22.80
114 lbs. twine to the same at 12½c	14.25
Threshing 1,463 bu. oats at 2c	29.26
Boarding 20 men two meals at 10c	4.00
Clothing for six one year	60.00
Six pair of shoes at $1.50	9.00
15 sacks flour at $1.25	18.75
10 pounds of coffee at 15c.	1.50
1 pound of tea	.30
50 pounds of sugar	2.50
2 brooms	.50
Fuel	12.18
Doctor for setting boy's arm	12.00
Total	$471.24
Credit 1,463 bushels oats at 25c	365.75
Deficit	$105.49

Thus you will see that after giving the landlord all the crop my wife must sell chickens, eggs, butter and I must go out and work by the day to make up the difference.

How much longer is this condition to exist? Do the parasites expect us to bear this forever? Do they never feel the rumbling that must come up in our hearts at the injustice, the slavery, the despotism of it? Do they think they can always live on the best while we perish miserably in poverty and hopelessness? I often feel that it would be better to die as are the Russians in an effort to better conditions than to die miserably piecemeal, year in and year out.

H. D. Calweler,
Adair, Ill.

—In The Appeal to Reason.

J. H. GREER, M. D.
52 Dearborn Street.
Office Hours, 9 a. m. to 6 p. m.
Wed. and Sat. till 8.
Sundays 9 to 12. CHICAGO
TEL. MARKET 1344

WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH WORN OUT WORKING PEOPLE?

What is to become of the working man when he reaches the age of 40 or 50 years?

Our coroner, in discussing the great increase in suicides, declares that he believes from observation, that a large number of the suicides are caused by despondency of men who have reached the "death line" of between 40 and 50 years of age. Coroner Hoffmann says: "I have known men to commit suicide because they had reached the age of between 40 and 50 years; a few gray hairs began to show and they were discharged. I know personally of several such cases. I knew an engineer a short time ago who committed suicide because he had been discharged by the railroad company for whom he had worked many years. The man was strong and healthy, but he had reached the age limit."

It seems to us that all right-minded people must admit that a society that can offer nothing better to its useful members who have reached middle life, than death by suicide or slow starvation, is a cursed institution and should be changed.

The man or woman who prefers to commit suicide rather than become a charge upon their children or society at large by being condemned to the workhouse or the poor house, are persons of that high-minded type that the world can ill afford to be without.

Following is a letter, which speaks for itself:

Ends His Life at 60.

The pathetic announcement of a man's self-destruction is given below. In a letter received by The Daily News today Martin Monahan, an old Chicagoan, bade farewell to the newspaper he had read for twenty years. He told in the letter that he had been refused work because of his 60 years and was discouraged. In his announcement of suicide, evidently written last evening, Monahan said he would drown himself. He made good his assertion that he would die, but employed another method. The body was found today in a hallway at 55 North Clark St. Carbolic aci had ended the man's life.

Monahan was formerly wealthy. He had been employed at the stockyards and had accumulated much property. Through some adverse circumstances he lost most of his money.

James Cunningham of the water-pipe-extension department at the city hall identified the handwriting in the letter received by The Daily News today as that of Monahan. He said that Monahan, who had been employed as a laborer in the department latterly, was inclined to talk the way the letter was written. The letter follows:

"Jan. 22, 1906, Daily News: I take this means of thanking you for your paper. For the last twenty years I have been a constant reader. This is the last night I shall read it; there is nothing else for me to do but commit suicide. I am now 60 years of age and can find no work, although I am strong and able. No one wants my gray hairs in their employ. I know of others in the same position that I am in that speak of doing the same thing that I am going to do. On the morrow I shall fling my body in the lake weighted down with stones, so that it will be past recognition when it is found.

"I am a good mechanic, able to do a good day's work; only my gray hairs keep me from getting a position to earn my daily bread. May God forgive all men who refuse to employ a man because he is getting old. When they beworth millions, they must die also and leave those millions behind them. May God forgive them, for I cannot, for there is nothing left for me but to die a suicide. I have no money to leave my children.

"It is hard to die such a death, but there is nothing else for me to do. I know there are others that will do as I am going to do, because they cannot get work and their children care not what becomes of them.

"I now bid you good-by. May your paper be a blessing to some one."

Nor is this sad state of affairs confined to Chicago alone, as the following telegram shows:

Bars Old Men on Street Work.

Cincinnati, Jan. 22. — J. R. Neave, the millionaire manufacturer, who has undertaken to show how the street cleaning should be done by accepting the position of superintendent, today handed down a new rule, reading: "No man over 50 years of age need apply." The rule caused a great commotion, as many hoary-headed men heretofore have found employment on the streets for the city. Superintendent Neave's idea is that with limited appropriations and the small force at his command he must get vigorous men to accomplish the work.

Oh! I am weary of this lonely place,
Where scarce a sunbeam o'er the wall's sad grey
Its silent course of cheerful light may trace,
To whisper hope and tell of brighter day.
Alas! for me the summer sun in vain
At eve shall brighten up the forest glade,
Or throw its glittering rays across the plain,
Where oft a child in careless glee I've played.
They tell me here no thought of earth should be
Allow'd to hold a place within my heart;
That I am dead to it and it to me,
Since that sad day on which we vow'd to part.
They speak in vain; for thoughts will often rise,
Although to give them words the tongue forbears;
My wandering heart to bygone memories flies,
Which mingling check the ardor of my prayers.
Even in this dreary cell in thought I hear
The voice loved in childhood's happy hours,
Behold again the forms I then held dear,
Wander once more 'mid youth's enchanted bowers.
Oh! I am weary; yet they bid me seek,
In soulless prayers, and empty forms, the rest,
Of a worn spirit, tired and frail, and weak,
Forbid to weep, and yet by grief oppressed.
Oh! I am weary, but no kind voice now
Is here to speak of hope and chase my fears;
No mother's hand may press my fever'd brow,
And point my longing soul to brighter spheres.
Oh! I am weary and would fain depart
This living tomb, for I am sick of life,
(A life like this that rends the breaking heart.)
And I would die if death would end the strife.
Oh! I am weary: death why dost thou stay
Thy hand from smiting? All I loved are gone,
Or dead to me; oh haste, make no delay,
I go unwept, unheeded, and unknown.

Christian Advocate.

A. R. PARSONS' SPEECH.

(Continued from Page 1.)

writings of other men, even though they were published in the columns of a paper of which I was the editor? Your honor, you must remember that the Alarm was a paper, published by the International Working People's Association, belonging to that body. I was elected its editor by the organization, and, as labor editors usually are, I was handsomely paid. I had sawdust pudding as a general thing for dinner. My salary was eight dollars a week, and I have received that salary as editor of the Alarm for over two years and a half—$8 a week! I was paid by the association. It stands upon the books. Go down to the office and consult the business manager. Look over the record in the book and it will show you that A. R. Parsons received $8 a week as editor of the Alarm for over two years and a half. This paper belonged to the organization. It was theirs. They sent in their articles—Tom, Dick and Harry; everybody wanted to have something to say, and I had no right to shut off anybody's complaint. The Alarm was a labor paper, and it was specifically published for the purpose of allowing every human being who wore the chains of monopoly an opportunity to clank those chains in the columns of the Alarm. It was a free press organ. It was a free speech newspaper.

(Continued next week.)

Subscribe for The Liberator.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE ANARCHISTS' CONGRESS, HELD IN PITTSBURG, PA.

To the Workingmen of America.

Fellow-Workmen: The Declaration of Independence says:

"* * * But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such Government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf; in behalf of your wives and children; in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied. The exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalist) buy the working force, body and soul, of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages), and take for themselves (i. e., steal) the amount of new values (products) which exceeds the price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working force an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working force increase constantly, while the demand therefore decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the property by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon and absorb the labor product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle generally the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production, as well as trade and inter-communication, into their hands, and develop into monopolies. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration: The last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed—i. e., stolen—more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, are unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the producers unable to consume more than they receive—three-eighths —so-called "overproductions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is, therefore, necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains. As the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-called "civilization;" as the Governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers; as, finally, the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society—so, therefore, the international fraternity of people as expressed in the International Working People's Association presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production—in short, capital property—is changed into societary property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoliation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can everyone be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can supply their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes—be they Monarchies or Republics—form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding of the present disorder of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance, and servility; in short, want of sense. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeois of all countries—in America as well as in Europe—constantly commit, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeois will be of a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our master for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse—force! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right, it is your duty," says Jefferson, "to arm!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

First—Destruction of the existing class rule by all means—i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second—Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth—Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth—Equal rights for all, without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth—Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) Communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this idea let him grasp our outstretched brother-hands!

Proletarians from all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is organization and unity.

The day has come for solidarity! Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: "Workmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to win!"

Issued by the Pittsburg Congress of the International Working Peoples' Association, on October 16, 1883.

CORRESPONDENCE

BANKS IN CHICAGO ARE ROTTEN.

Some one in this city last week disturbed the peace of mind of our banking fraternity by sending warning messages over the telephones to depositors that a financial storm was brewing and they had beter withdraw their deposits. Of course this information ditsurbed The Liberator Group greatly, as we have heavy balances on deposit, only they are on the wrong side of the balance sheet. However, a correspondent who seems to be well posted, sends us the following figures, which may prove interesting information to some of The Liberator readers:

The banks in Chicago now
Owe depositors...$133,011,318.78
Cash in banks.... 53,952,009.90

Therefore lack...$ 75,059,308.88
of having any money of their own. They lack $79,059,308.88 of being able to pay depositors. Push this. Get the depositors after them.

First National Bank
Owes depositors...$38,059,735.25
Cash 18,197,411.74

Lacks $19,862,323.51
of having enough to pay depositors.

Bankers National Bank
Owes depositors....$4,717,988.65
Cash in bank..... 2,308,526.05

Lacks $2,409,462.60
of being able to stand a run.

Calumet National
Owes depositors.....$776,806.50
Cash 80,035.62

Lacks $696,770.88
of having any money of its own.

Chicago National
Owes depositors...$17,038,067.87
Cash in bank..... 4,109,516.04

Lacks $12,928,551.83
of being able to pay people who have placed their money there for safe keeping.

Commercial National Bank
Owes depositors...$13,691,820.62
Cash in bank..... 4,994,015.38

This one lacks.....$ 8,697,805.24
of being safe, sane and sound.

Continental
Depositors' money.$11,329,728.99
Cash 8,576,835.95

Lacks .....$ 2,752,893.04
of being honest.

Corn Exchange
Deposits $23,050,781.88
Cash in bank..... 8,213,305.56

Lacks only.....$14,837,476.32
of being able to stand a run.

Yet these banks can put up $50,000.00 to fight the labor unions.

Drovers Deposit Bank
Owes depositors....$2,463,205.36
Cash 686,865.14

Lacks $1,776,340.22
of paying the depositors.

First National Bank, Englewood, Chicago,
Owes depositors....$1,336,065.12
Cash in bank..... 66,664.22

Lacks $1,269,400.90

Fort Dearborn
Owes depositors....$4,775,881.55
Cash in bank..... 1,207,080.77

Lacks only.....$3,568,800.78
of being safe.

Hamilton
Owes depositors.....$923,238.68
Cash 133,521.97

Lacks $789,716.71

North America
Owes depositors....$3,717,208.17
Cash in bank..... 2,018,473.66

Lacks $1,698,324.51

Illinois
Owes depositors....$7,036,111.62
Cash in bank..... 2,584,188.18

Lacks $4,451,923.44
All in the same boat. See.

Oakland National Bank, Hyde Park,
Owes depositors.....772,512.06
Cash in bank..... 51,001.45

Lacks $721,510.61

Live Stock Bank
Owes depositors....$3,807,348.28
Cash in bank..... 919,685.12

Lacks $2,887,663.16

Prairie National Bank
Owes depositors.....$109,715.80
Cash in bank..... 2,675.29

Lacks $107,040.51
of being able to pay the suckers who have placed their money in this bank.

First National Bank, Chicago Heights,
Owes depositors.....$213,458.22
Cash in bank..... 11,302.01

This one lacks.....$202,156.21
of having the depositors' money.

People should not be permitted to tell this. It scares timid people. All you have to do is get the comptroller's reports to get all these figures. Tell this not in Guth.

Mollie Seons.

PROSPERITY AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

When we read the capitalistic dailies and magazines we are told that all over the country we enjoy the greatest prosperity; business prosperous, industries progressing, and so on.

But we take the pains to go down town where the daily papers are issued; there we see a different picture of prosperity. There we see a vast army of unemployed children under 16 years of age, young men becoming old before their time from want and hunger. No old men are to be seen; in my opinion they never get old. There they are waiting for the 3 o'clock edition of the papers, in order to see whether there are any advertisements for help wanted. Usually you will find them earlier by two hours, in order to be in time.

When these outcasts of society are lined up there, eagerly waiting for the newspaper, perhaps to see if there will be something to do, the sound of an instrument and of a quartet of vocal music brings them together on the opposite side from where the boys with the newspapers come out. From a platform they are told that they are full of sins, that they have sinned against God and his son, and that their souls must be purified, etc. As I was waiting once not long ago for the papers, I was lucky enough to hear one of the sermons, "How to get forgiveness from God."

The speaker spoke in the following manner: "Listen, workingmen, do you know the cause of your sufferings, the cause of your misery, the reason you are poor and others are rich? Because you have sinned against God and his son. Because instead of going to church, you are going to the dram-shop, and because you are not going in the right path. Now listen to me; if you are willilng to turn back, God will always receive you, listen to the voice of God and His son and He will forgive you."

Now I want to ask those preachers wrapped in the mantle of the so-called brother love of Christianity, what crime are those workingmen accused of? that they have sinned, except this crime, that they don't know the trick of getting rich upon their fellow beings toil, or perhaps this is the crime? that they remain silent when they are robbed of their labor or they are clubbed by the police when they go out in strike. Perhaps this is the sin you preach of to be forgiven for?

No, gentlemen, this is not the reason that they are unemployed. Perhaps I will be able to show a part of the cause, why 80,000 workingmen are yearly idle in an industrious town like Chicago and also why 2,000,000 tramps are tramping yearly rfom Mexico to New York.

I have investigated and I think that the fact related below has something to do with the problem of prosperity and the unemployed—that is, the overtime system.

It's a fact that in every shop or factory, the workingmen are engaged working overtime ranging from 12 to 15 hours for each week over the regular time. I have figured that in a place where 50 workingmen are employed if they each work 15 hours a week overtime it would make a total of 750 hours for 50 employes.

Now if those 50 employes would not work the required 750 hours, 13 men or women could be given employment, insteado f those 50 men being overworked. Now this figure is given only for an example of 50 employes. How about a place where workingmen are employed by the hundreds or by the thousands?

With workingmen employed working overtime it's no wonder that the capitalistic press sees only prosperity. Of course, there is prosperity, but not for those who are employed to work overtime, but for those who employ them.

Some may ask why it is that they are employed to work overtime when there are so many unemployed? Well, this is simple. Anyone should be able to comprehend this:

A vast army of workingmen are note mployed in order to keep those employed with overwork and overtime at bay; in order that when the latter become dissatisfied with the prevailing conditions and go out on strike, the unemployed are kept ready to take their places.

According to the latest reports we are informed that 2,000,000 to 3,0000,000 children under 16 years of age are employed in mills, in glass factories, and in mines. Children under 16 years of age when their time is for school, are sent by their parents to work in the sweatshops, in the factories, and in the mines, to earn a livelihood because their parents are unable to provide them with shelter and fod, because the parents are not working, or if they are working, they are working for starvation wages.

And this is called prosperity. Of course, capitalistic prosperity.

Jean Spielman.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOCIAL AND BALL.

Don't forget to attend the social and ball given by The Liberator Group Saturday, Feb. 3, in Star Lit Hall, Solon Place and 14th St. An enjoyable time is assured. This is not the "necktie party," however. That is going to be a specially **grand event.** The girls are going to supply all the boys with nice **new Easter neckties,** so we want it to be a little nearer Easter. Don't buy your spring ties. The Liberator is going to furnish them.

Liberator Group Lectures.

A course of lectures arranged by the Liberator Group, every Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m. sharp at Pritikin's Hall, Halsted & Maxwell Sts. Sunday, Jan. 28.—Lecture in Jewish. Feb. 4.—Lucy E. Parsons will lecture. Subject, "Child Labor." All invited. Discussion after each lecture.

Special Meeting.

Liberty Group, San Francisco, meets Saturday, Feb. 3, 417 Post Street. All comrades are invited.

The Progressive Library, 106 Forsyth St., New York City.

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Liberty Group, San Francisco.

Liberty Group of San Francisco meets every two weeks; next meetings, Dec. 23rd and Jan. 6th, at 417 Post St.

Liberator Group, New York.

The Liberator Group of New York meets every first and third Sunday of the month at 415 Grand St., first floor, at 8 p. m. sharp.

Those interested in the English propaganda are earnestly requested to come to our meetings.

Progressive Library Circle.

The Progressive Literary Circle meets Thursday evenings at 379 S. Halsted St.

Social Science League Sunday Night Meetings.

The Social Science League, public meetings every Sunday night at 8 p. m. Room 913 Masonic Temple. Speakers: Jacob E. LeBosky—The Russian Situation—January 28. Free discussion after lecture.

Dance and Social Given by Social Science League.

Do not fail to attend the social and dance given for the benefit of our paper, The Demonstrator. (We are pleased to state that The Liberator is not "our paper," but belongs to all alike.—L. E. P.) At Fohey's Hall, 235 S. Western Ave., near Van Buren St., Saturday evening, Jan. 27, 1906. Large program of entertainers. Admission 10 cents.

Cigar Makers' Union of I. W. W.

Cigarmakers' Local Union No. 158 I. W. W. will meet every Friday night, corner Maxwell and Jefferson Sts. Discussion. All are invited.

Grand Social and Ball!

Grand Social and Ball will be given by the Liberator Group on Feb. 3rd in Star Lit Hall, corner Solon Place and 14th St. Come out and have a fine time. Beautiful hall and fine music, etc.

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